l: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
757 (1928-29)

"Salt to them [JKM: Jibaros] has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic."

1: Karsten--509-510
116, 757

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"These are only some of the most important plant medicines used by the Indians. But although they have no doubt made important discoveries in this domain and possess actual knowledge of valuable remedies, I on the other hand have no high opinion of their ability to use these remedies. Their practical therapeutics leave much to be desired. The many stories current among white settlers about miraculous cures of Indian medicine-men in my opinion ought to be accepted with [510] some scepticism, although I do not of course deny that in some cases they may have achieved remarkable results. The development of the medical art of the Indians has been too much hampered by their superstitions and other peculiarities characteristic of a primitive mind. There may exist really skilled healers among the Indians, but they are in any case very scarce. The average Indian can only with difficulty be persuaded to subject himself to a lengthy and systematic treatment for a disease. A medicine ought to cure at once, otherwise it is of no avail. Very frequently, as I found during my travels, the Indians could not even make up their mind to use the remedies they possessed, or they simply did not understand how to use them. As to my own remedies, powders, pills, etc., the Indians regarded them as powerful 'medicines' and poisons, and when I showed them they generally asked for them, but it was well nigh impossible to make them take for instance a tablet or a pill; they might die on the spot. But they carefully kept them somewhere in the house, evidently believing that their mere presence there would be sufficient to

effect a cure.

The natural apathy and fatalism of the Indians also proves an obstacle to rational therapeutics. If the medicine-men declare that they are not able to cure the patient, or if otherwise he himself and his relatives get the idea that his last hour has come, they give up any attendance and only wait for his death, although there may be no real danger of his life."

4: Up de Graff--221 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 164, 757

"All the men and women we meet are strong and healthy, for although once in the hands of the medicine man thay have but a poor chance of recovery (he generally starves his patients to death), they have little need of his services, being absolutely free from diseases, except smallpox and one other of which the chief symptom is a cough, but which I was never able to identify."

4: Up de Graff--221-222 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 757

"I am reminded of an incident which took place when I was with the Antipas. One morning, there was brought to me a warrior who had been wounded by a Huambiza with a shot-gun loaded with powder and pebbles and fired at short range (surely part of the booty of the Barranca raid). The bone in the upper arm was shattered, the limb dangling useless. The man was so emaciated that he could hardly stand, and the wound was septic. I syringed him with bi-chloride of mercury and dressed his wound for him. On enquiring as to the diet on which he had been put by the medicine man, I found that he was forbidden to eat anything but green bananas! [222] However, persuaded by the rapid progress that he made under my care, the local oracle gave in, and the man was permitted to take proper nourishment. He recovered completely as I found on my return from the Santiago."

4: Up de Graff--245-247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 757

"He [KS: the medicine man] is at his best as a curer of ills. Several times we had occasion to call in Pitacunca himself and he made speedy and efficacious cures, albeit with a great deal of hocus-pocus on the side. Once Morse was suffering from an ulcerated tooth, and 'Pete' volunteered to cure it in a few minutes. We had much ado to persuade the patient to allow the treatment to commence, and still more to allow it to go on. Morse was stretched out on his back on the sand, and the [246] 'doctor' sat down by his head and commenced a chant. At the end of each verse he sucked his patient's cheek noisily, and proceeded to produce from his own mouth an ant, a shell, a good-sized spider, a snail or a small crab, after which he would show us what he had 'extracted' and go into a fit of violent vomiting. Then another verse commenced with the same result; and so on, until he had produced a hatful of insects, dead or alive, after chanting some twenty verses. Meanwhile it was all we could do to keep Morse down. Finally the 'doctor' chose a live coal from the fire, blew it to a red heat, and asked Ed. to open his mouth. The latter took one look at the offer and jumped to his feet. After it had been carefully explained to him that he was not expected to swallow the burning embed, but only allow it to be held, in a mussel shell in his open mouth, he assented. Then came the real cure. Pitacunca broke up into powder some fine leaves (I didn't learn what plant it was) and scattering them on the hot charcoal, held the latter in Morse's mouth so that the fumes from the leaf powder passed round the bad tooth. The pain left him within five minutes and never returned. If it was a coincidence, it was a very remarkable one.

4: Up de Graff--245-247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-2
116, 757

On another occasion, I myself had been bitten by a fly which deposits an egg under the skin which grows into a fat worm. I was suffering from the repeated attacks of the grub, which was embedded in my back. Once more Pitacunca volunteered assistance, which I gladly accepted. He asked for a cigarette, which I rolled and proffered him. He smoked it and blew through a fluff of cotton causing the nicotine to condense. The usual incantations commenced, and continued for about ten minutes (as many verses sufficed, apparently, to extract a worm!). With his [247] mouth close to the spot where the worm lay, he made a funny indescribable noise understood by the worm to be the only tune worth coming out to hear, applying the cotton at the same time. Well, out he came, sure enough (driven out, no doubt, by the nicotine, to whose cleansing qualities I have referred before)."

5: Reyes and Teran--105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 262, 757

"The Jivaro Indians are very fond of the flesh of the pig, which they eat roasted and also boiled. They also extract the lard, but they use it only as a remedy for dysentery. (1)"

"1. 'Album-guía de la Region Oriental Ecuatoriana,' por Alfonso Rumazo González."

13: Rivet--250-251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 757

I have already spoken of the method for recovering the breath after the sale of a blow-gun. Most of the supposed medical secrets [251] of the Jívaros are merely similar superstitious practices. However, there is no doubt that their pharmocopoeia is still poorly known, and in addition to their exorcisms the huishinu use certain remedies (plant infusions, etc.). The decoction of tobacco appears to be a veritable panacea for the savages. In addition the Jívaro are acquainted with bleeding, which they practice 10 cm. above the bend of the elbow in inflammatory infections. (1)

1. Colini. Osservazioni etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 19.

26: Brüning--69-70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 757, 824

To cure their sicknesses the Indians use various herbs. I have made a collection of these herbs in Huavico. But when our boat was wrecked on our voyage up the Marañón and when we were forced to cross the forest from Nazaret to Bagua Chica on foot, the collection had to be abandoned in Nazaret since we did not have enough porters. Here is a list of my collection:

pihipí - the bulb of a sort of reed; used against insect bites by rubbing the wound caused by the sting.

sapáta - nut of a tree, called avila by the whites; used against toothache.

asángo - seeds used against diarrhea.

otuntú - the decoction of a plant used internally and externally against snake bite.

angpángban - leaves against snake bite.

kúnakip - leaves against snake bite and diarrhea. [70]

maikuá - given to children from time to time to purgate them even if they are not sick.

zángu - tobacco plant.

Unfortunately, I am not able to give more detailed information. The notes that went with each plant were lost with the collection. These brief annotations come out of my glossary.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--353
116, 276, 757, 463

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

Guayusa is widely used. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 77 ff.) gives a detailed account of the concepts and customs that are connected with Guayusa drinking. Guayusa has the least magic qualities, but it has all the more medical ones. It is a purgative, prepared by the men only, but used by men and women alike. The Chiwaros believe that it makes the body in general strong and fit.

28: Tessman--360 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 757

The most important Chiwaro medicine is the rinsing of the bowels with a purgative. They begin with this at the age of boyhood to prevent sicknesses and to make the body strong. Purgatives guarantee longevity; in Loreto they are know as lavativas. They drink, for instance, a solution fo salt in warm water, and add the juice of sugar cane. Capsicum pepper is also regarded as a medicine in case of indigestion. Guayusa is another purgative. To tobacco they ascribe likewise healing powers. Tobacco is used after one has dreamt of a friend: they chew the leaves and spit them into the eyes of the friend. According to Karsten, the Chiwaros are very fond of enemas.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 756 798 823 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they • 757 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 776 756 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 798 776 276 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemá*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemá*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*
778

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-